ties. I didn't want her because she went around to her friends and said 159x I had no gongs and mokos to pay a bride-price; that was why I would not marry her. The other woman was Kolani, sister of Rilpada, but I heard that her father hit her because she wanted to marry me. So I didn't want her either. Matingma's family also wanted her to marry me, and I had given her some presents.

[Question about his present wife.] One day I was playing cards and Tilafani [now his mother-in-law] came to me and asked me for money. I said I didn't have any, but then I found five cents in my basket and gave them to her. She was my Female House. Then she went to my house and saw my Fehawa moko standing there. She spoke to my older sister, Maraima, and said that it was ours [Fantan's and Tilafani's]. Maraima answered, "There are no gongs and mokos here." Maraima was just repeating the words Matingma had said. Then Tilafani said she had never repeated such gossip. The day before I had gone to Tilafani to buy a chicken. She wanted twenty-five cents. I offered fifteen cents but she would not accept them, so I left. The next day she told me I could come and get the chicken and pay for it later. I thought maybe her daughter had sent her for me. So I went to Maiyamelang [the girl's village]. The former tumukun [the girl's father] was sitting on the verandah talking. He said I could get the chicken, but when I started to shoot it he didn't want me to. Lakamau was standing there. He told Lakamau to shoot the chicken, but Lakamau went off in the opposite direction before he aimed, so it was a very long shot. He said, "If I hit the chicken in the neck, it is yours; if not, you do not get it." [All this was symbolic reference to Fantan's marriage to the daughter.] Lakamau shot, and the arrow hit the chicken right in the neck. So I took the chicken home with me and we ate it. At that time the former tumukun was selling a valuable moko because he wanted small ones for change. So I sent the chief of Dikimpe to ask if they wanted mine. Tilamau [his present wife] laughed. That showed she was willing to marry me, so I sent the Fehawa moko. But Tilamau did not come to me for half a month. Meanwhile Matingma and Kolani said if she didn't want to come, they would. I told them they could come and work to earn their own bride-prices. Finally when my father was sick, my wife came to me. We did not sleep together for a month or so. Then I wanted to sleep with her, but she said, "Where is the shawl for my mother?" [Before consummating a marriage it is customary for the husband to [606 give his mother-in-law a shawl.] So I gave Tilafani a moko with which 525] to buy a shawl. Then we slept together. [Question.] I had never slept

159 death we fought over meat. The chief of Alurkowati came to help me when my mother died, and brought a pig. So when he gave one of his wife's death feasts, I gave him twenty-five cents. My father-in-law was the Male House of the chief of Alurkowati, and he took a pig, which he got from me. That evening my father-in-law sent me some meat. I said I didn't want anything and not to send the meat. Tilamau, my wife, went back to see about it. She found out I had given the chief twenty-five cents. She was angry because I hadn't given the money to her parents. We quarreled and she left me. I sent back the meat too.

She stayed a year with her parents, and then I placed the litigation with the chief of Dikimpe. I cooked a chicken for the chief, and my wife came back to me. We made a litigation to see whether she wanted to return or not. If she didn't want to come back I wanted my bride-price back. At the litigation her mother didn't want her to return, but my wife said, "He is my husband and I don't want another." Her father also didn't want to break up the marriage. He said they had already received a moko from me. [Why did your mother-in-law want to break up the marriage?] Her mother didn't want us to be married, because I had quarreled with her child. [Did you beat her?] No, I don't know how to beat women. If my wife is angry because I go to play with young girls, she can hit me; but I don't know how to hit a woman. [He had always very strenuously denied extramarital affairs. I asked, "Are quarrels cause for divorce here?] Her mother gave a lot of little feasts and 160 expected me to give her things all the time. If a man is old or rich he can bring gongs and mokos, but we children [meaning himself] can go free if we don't have anything. She wanted to be given a great deal. But her husband said, "We are rich people. If we get gongs and mokos, that is all right; but the rest of the things don't matter. [At this point the informant looked as though he were near tears. He was much more disturbed than during accounts of his parents' deaths, for example.] I wanted to separate but my wife didn't want to. She wanted to use me right through.

[Why did you separate the first time?] We had a child that died. My wife and her parents said my evil spirit was following me and ate the child. My mother-in-law didn't want us to stay together. [What spirit?] The kaloi spirit in Makangfokung that ate my father's sons. [True or not?] No, it wasn't true. If it had been true I wouldn't be here, because the kaloi would have eaten me, but my father fed it medicine. [Question.] My child was a boy about seven months old when he died. He was big enough to laugh but not to sit up. I had been

613 A more usual outlay is for the building of
476 lineage houses. This is the joint responsibility of
all the descendants in the male lines of a designated
forebear, and the houses become the center
of ancestral sacrifices. To build them, much
heavy labor is needed, and in this labor the whole
community is invited to help. In return the
437 helpers are feasted, and that means both buying
pigs and slaughtering one's own. Since there may
be a dozen or more such feasts in the course of
erecting a lineage house, construction may
progress in short stages over a period of years
to allow for the necessary accumulation of pigs.

437 The death feasts are another object of expenditure.
764 When a man dies, certain of his kin,
the descendants of his mother's brothers, contribute
602 the shroud, grave services, pigs and
mokos. These preliminary feasts and services
occur during the first eight days after death.
Then, anywhere from a year to twenty years
later, two return feasts must be given at which
the mother's brothers' descendants are repaid at
high rates of interest, which must be agreed upon
by negotiation. They may range as high as three
hundred and four hundred per cent. Obviously
not all the dead get such elaborate financial
treatment. The small payoffs on the burial rites
for children or young men and women may be
made as a side issue when feasts for their more
153 important kin are given. The bookkeeping involved
in these elaborate and long-drawn-out
transactions must be carried in people's heads.
There is no system of writing, not even a system
of tallies, to keep track of their complexity. One
man who gave such a feast summarized the
transactions in connection with that ceremony
alone. He had fifty-seven creditors and debtors
involving two hundred items to remember. This
was certainly no mean intellectual feat. I should
hesitate to maintain a causal connection, but it is
true that the singular accomplishments of the
Alorese in practical financial matters are paralleled
by an equally singular lack of interest in
what we should call abstract thinking or theorizing.

587 The largest, most persistent exchange relationship
606 which a man establishes in his lifetime
is with his wife's family. Marriage is in no way a
religious or a ceremonial affair. It is essentially
financial—the establishment of a system of
group exchanges. There is first of all a bride price
in mokos matched by a dowry in mokos. The
dowry, however, is only about a third of the
bride price. These exchanges are not paid all at
once, but gradually over a period of many years.
The girl goes to live in the boy's house when he
pays the first and largest moko. After that the

583 bridegroom is under repeated pressure from
his father-in-law, and his wife as well, to con-
606 tinue the series of agreed payments. A woman's
loyalty, especially in the beginning, seems more
often to lie with her own family than with her
husband, and she may even refuse sexual privi-
leges to a husband delinquent in his payment of
the bride price. But the payment in mokos is not
the whole story. There are also bride price and
dowry exchanges in flesh foods and in vegetable
foods. In fact, the affinal kin are always counted
upon as a primary source of contributions when-
586 ever a financial enterprise is undertaken. In case
182 of divorce the difference between the bride price
and dowry payments to date are reckoned and
the difference must be paid back to the husband.
Naturally, the longer a marriage lasts, the larger
562 these sums become, with the result that the eco-
nomic factor helps to stabilize marriages. It
might appear at first blush that the Alorese
women become the pawns in a masculine game
of finances, and within limits there is some
validity to such estimates. However, not only is
the woman valuable as a sex object and the pro-
ducer of those children who will give one's death
feasts, but she is the provider of food. Without a
wife a man will have to work for his subsistence,
and without her coöperation and good will he
will not be able to raise the surplus rice and corn
necessary for those very feasts on which his
prestige rests. Her powers are very real, even
though they are not the ones chosen for social
recognition and prestige; and she knows how to
use them.

000 All this account has failed so far to give an idea of how a young man enters upon the financial rôle he is required to play on a more or less grandiose scale. The case of Senlaka is instructive in this connection.

When Senlaka was about fourteen he began thinking of marriage and the bride price he would have to accumulate. For helping his mother with the hot, hard tasks in the fields his mother and father gave him a piglet, partly as reward, partly to start him on his financial career. Senlaka took good care of it, feeding it regularly until it was large enough to exchange for a five-dollar moko. Unfortunately his father at that time was planning a death feast and high-handedly appropriated his son's pig. Senlaka was furious but helpless. He vowed angrily that he would never again raise pigs, a vow he stubbornly kept for years. Had his father lived, Senlaka might have had his help in buying a wife and his attitude about pig-raising might have had no very serious repercussions. Unfortunately, however, the father died and there was

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